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Statement by the representative of Cameroon

1. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker in the general debate this morning, I would inform the Assembly that the representative of Cameroon has asked for the floor in order to make a brief statement on behalf of the President of his country. If there is no objection, I will now call upon the representative of Cameroon.

2. Mr. NJINE (Cameroon) (*translated from French*): Madam President, I come to the rostrum to discharge a pleasant duty, because your election as President evokes general enthusiasm and merits the just pride of all Africa. The Acting President of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity has asked me to convey a message to you. I crave the indulgence of this assembly and the understanding of delegations on the list of speakers for this morning because I thought it necessary to ask to speak in order to communicate to you the message from the Acting President of the Organization of African Unity, which reads as follows:

"As Acting President of the Organization of African Unity I have the pleasure, on the occasion of your election as President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, to address to you the warm congratulations of the Organization and of all African peoples.

"This election is an honour not only for you personally and for your country, but also for all Africa, which fervently wishes you success in the delicate task entrusted to you.

"To these congratulations and wishes may I add those of the Federal Republic of Cameroon as well as my personal congratulations and best wishes? Knowing your eminent qualities and your wide experience in United Nations affairs, I do not doubt that your term of office will contribute to the strengthening of international peace

and co-operation in the spirit of fraternity which marks the genius of Africa.

*"(Signed) A. AHIDJO,
President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon."*

3. I am sure, Madam President, that the Acting President of the Conference of the Organization of African Unity will have an early opportunity of repeating these congratulations to you in person.

4. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cameroon and ask him to convey to President Ahidjo my very deep and sincere appreciation of his kind message.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

5. Mr. AICHI (Japan): Madam President, on behalf of the Japanese delegation, I should like to extend my heartiest congratulations to you on your assumption of the Presidency of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I am confident that, with your knowledge and wealth of experience in the problems of the United Nations, which are both so well known to us, you will lead this session to fruitful accomplishments.

6. I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my profound appreciation to the former President of the General Assembly, His Excellency the late Mr. Emilio Arenales. It is still fresh in our memory that he successfully brought to a close the very difficult period of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly. My delegation shares the deep sorrow over his unexpected passing with all the peoples of the world, recognizing that we have lost a great leader in the cause of world peace.

7. On this occasion, I wish to pay high tribute to His Excellency Secretary-General U Thant, and express my appreciation of his devotion to the maintenance of world peace. I very much hope that he will continue his efforts towards the establishment of peace and progress of mankind.

8. At the outset of my statement, I should like to refer to what I may call our struggle for peace. The Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations, whenever we read it over again, cannot but renew our deep emotions. I am sure that the objective expressed in such words as:

"We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war,

which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind . . .”

must have been held in the heart of each of our contemporaries throughout the world, at least once, as his own personal conviction. This is an objective that is fully endorsed by the Japanese people who have expressed, in the constitution promulgated shortly after the close of the Second World War, their strong determination to live as a peace-loving nation. I think that the United Nations, as the pre-eminent world Organization which aims to achieve an objective such as I have mentioned, is the most appropriate forum in which to speak of peace.

9. The struggle for peace should not be thought of as comprising only our efforts to maintain or restore peace and security in the contemporary world. The struggle for peace must also comprise creative efforts to explore the way, and open the road, to everlasting peace.

10. In the present world situation the supreme obligation of all States to their own peoples would appear to be the protection of their respective national interests. When the forces of nationalism have reached their peak as they have today, and indeed because they have reached such a point, I am convinced that harmony must be achieved among the States that aspire to nationalism through the further strengthening of true internationalism. As long as nations consider their national objective to be the maintenance and enhancement of the peace and welfare of their peoples, they should be convinced that the securing and strengthening of international peace should be an essential prerequisite in the attainment of such an objective. Accordingly, our present and future efforts should be directed towards achieving a stake in which all the nations of the world will co-operate with the United Nations and move forward together, step by step, towards everlasting peace.

11. I do not think that there is any alternative. Specifically, the struggle for peace consists in efforts answering the expectations of all peoples of the world for the future peace-keeping ability of this international Organization, by enhancing the effectiveness of the functions of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace. The struggle for peace means to strive towards general and complete disarmament, through concrete disarmament measures; and the struggle for peace is to eliminate frustration, which is the fundamental cause of social insecurity, by raising the living standards of the peoples of the world. Furthermore, it is extremely important to remove the distrust existing among nations and races, or between different political systems based on different ideologies, by bringing about an easing of world tensions, and promoting mutual friendship and understanding among nations.

12. In discussing these matters, I should like, first, to take up the question of the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations. There is no need for me to dwell on the fact that the maintenance of international peace and security is the primary objective of this Organization. For a quarter of a century since the Second World War, we have fortunately been spared the catastrophe of world-wide war owing mainly to the mutual restraint exercised by the major Powers. On the other hand, there has been a frequent recurrence of local conflicts and, to our great regret, all too many regions in the world today are still confronted with

serious problems. As is demonstrated by the past peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, this Organization can be effective, although perhaps not in a spectacular fashion, in preventing the spread of hostilities and bloodshed and in arranging peaceful settlements.

13. It is our belief that in order to maintain world peace, these peace-keeping functions of the United Nations should be further strengthened. However, the extent to which they can be developed depends entirely on the amount of effort that can be made by each Member State. In fact, the success of past peace-keeping operations has been due to initiatives taken by and with the co-operation of Member States. In this connexion, I should like to emphasize the immense responsibility of the super-Powers for ensuring world peace and security. They are expected, positively, to assume a major role in the maintenance of peace in general, not to mention their obligation to refrain from the use of military force as a means of solving international disputes. As a peace-loving nation, Japan is prepared to co-operate fully with the United Nations and to participate actively in its peace-keeping role.

14. I should like, at this juncture, to touch very briefly upon some of the problems affecting our Asian continent. The continuation of talks for peace in Viet-Nam, which are currently going on in Paris, gives us ground to entertain high hopes for the restoration of peace in that area. There still remains, to be sure, a wide difference of views between both sides; nevertheless, we earnestly cherish the hope that these various difficulties may be overcome through a genuine desire for peace on both sides, so that peace in Viet-Nam may be attained at the earliest date. Japan is willing to co-operate in whatever way it can to turn this hope into reality. It is to be hoped that, once peace is established, the United Nations for its part will direct positive efforts to the maintenance of the peace in close co-operation with the parties concerned.

15. For Japan the maintenance of peace in the Far East is a matter of special interest and gravity. In this context, we cannot conceal in particular our serious concern over the situation of sustained tension now continuing in the Korean Peninsula, which lies in close proximity to our own country. On the other hand, it is most gratifying that the Republic of Korea has been showing steady progress towards stability and development. Japan expresses its deep appreciation of the efforts made in the past by the United Nations for the maintenance of peace in this peninsula and earnestly hopes that there will never be a recurrence of a large-scale armed attack there. Japan is determined to continue to co-operate in United Nations activities as best it can for ensuring the peace in the area.

16. I turn now to the question of China which constitutes a problem of the utmost importance affecting peace in the Far East and indeed in the entire world. In that sense the position of my Government concerning the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations is that it is an “important question”, all the more so since many other questions in the United Nations are so designated. Japan, for its part, sincerely looks forward to the advent of the day when the People’s Republic of China will willingly adopt an attitude of international co-operation and play a constructive role for world peace.

17. Active consultations and discussions are now in progress inside and outside the United Nations with respect to the Middle East questions; but in spite of these consultations, to our deep regret, armed conflicts persist in the troubled area. Japan sincerely hopes that solution of this very difficult question will be brought about through the further efforts of all the interested parties and particularly of the major Powers in line with the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)].

18. The position of my Government, which is opposed to racial discrimination, remains unchanged on questions concerning southern Africa. My Government hopes that the United Nations will continue to make constructive efforts for the solution of these problems. It is to be expected that innumerable obstacles will have to be surmounted before a solution of such difficulties can be found. As in the past, Japan is ready to do its part in the search for solutions of all such problems.

19. Disarmament is an important means in the struggle for peace. This is one of the essential measures required to break the vicious circle of the expansion of armaments and the acceleration of tensions. Accordingly, if, while strengthening security systems under the United Nations, we succeed in obtaining a gradual scaling down of the armaments of countries, subject to effective verification and without affecting the balance between nations, we shall, in practical terms, be able to alleviate world tensions and lessen the danger of war.

20. We, the Japanese people, have the earnest wish that nuclear weapons should be eliminated and that an international society free from war should be realized. Japan became a member of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva this year. Through our participation in the work of the Committee, we hope to contribute, more than in the past, to the maintenance of peace by the promotion of disarmament.

21. Japan supports the view that priority be given to nuclear disarmament. We consider that, as techniques for the detection of underground nuclear weapon tests make progress, concrete measures of international co-operation should be advanced towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. Also the halting of production of fissionable nuclear materials for weapon purposes and the transfer of such materials to peaceful uses should be achieved. Closely related to those objectives is the problem of freezing and reducing the stockpiles of means of delivering nuclear weapons. We welcome the fact that talks between the United States and the Soviet Union are to begin on the control of strategic missiles.

22. Japan, as a maritime country surrounded by sea, has vital interests in the prevention of an arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor. Since the Japanese people, as I have mentioned, earnestly hope for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, we consider it very important to prohibit, in the first instance, nuclear or other mass-destruction weapons on the sea-bed and the ocean floor, which is the last frontier of mankind on earth.

23. Chemical and biological weapons, like nuclear weapons, are capable of being used for mass destruction and it is imperative that we should reaffirm the prohibition

of their use, prohibit the development and manufacture of such weapons and scrap the stockpiles of them.

24. The ideal of permanent peace can be brought about only when general and complete disarmament has been achieved. Regrettably, of course, the reality is that we cannot achieve this goal at once. Therefore the only way left is to adopt successively, step by step, partial disarmament measures, as such measures become feasible. At the same time, it is essential that we maintain the principle that these successive disarmament measures should be carried out in such a way that the balance of armaments will be maintained so as to ensure the security of all countries.

25. I turn now to a third very important factor in the struggle for peace. A victory will not be won in this struggle unless progress in the welfare of all mankind is achieved. In other words, the promotion of economic and social development is the prerequisite for political stability and the foundation for the active construction of peace. Energetic preparations are now being made by all the United Nations family of organizations concerned with the Second United Nations Development Decade in the 1970s. It is to be hoped that this Second Development Decade will contribute significantly to the economic and social development of the developing countries.

26. As the First Development Decade is nearing its end, it is noteworthy that significant economic development has been achieved in many developing countries in this decade and that competent organizations in the field of economic and social development have been consolidated within the United Nations family. I believe that in the next decade it is our obligation to secure the efficient and effective operation of these organizations and, at the same time, to maintain and promote genuine co-operation between the developing and the developed countries.

27. We, for our part, are determined to make every possible contribution to the successful achievement of the Second Development Decade. The most significant evidence of our efforts for economic co-operation is the flow of financial resources from Japan to the developing countries in recent years. The volume of the flow of financial resources from Japan to the developing countries for the last five years, for example, has increased by three times, having surpassed 1,000 million dollars in 1968. Trade relations between Japan and the developing countries have also been strengthened, and the amount of our imports from those countries have almost doubled over the last five years, reaching 5,300 million dollars in 1963. The rates of increase of both financial flow from and imports to Japan are among the highest of the developed countries.

28. Japan, as an Asian nation, has made particular efforts to strengthen its aid to and expand imports from Asian countries. Asia has the largest population in the world and the Asian countries need a great amount of aid for their development.

29. As I stated in the Fourth Ministerial Conference for the Economic Development of South-East Asia held at Bangkok from 3 to 5 April 1969, the coming decade will present great opportunities to countries both within and outside the South-East Asian region, and Japan intends

actively to pursue economic co-operation with other Asian countries, commensurate with the growth of its own national economy and, at the same time, to extend every possible support to the organizations of Asian regional co-operation, such as the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and the Asian Development Bank. My Government is further considering what active role we can play in co-operation with other countries, once peace is secured in Viet-Nam, in the reconstruction and development of Viet-Nam and its war-afflicted neighbouring countries.

30. I earnestly hope that the development strategy for the 1970s will contribute to victory over poverty and hunger in the developing countries and that the coming decade will truly be worthy of being called the decade of peace and development throughout the world.

31. I have now discussed various aspects of the struggle for peace. The United Nations, which should be the pivotal organ of that endeavour, will celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary next year, and I should like to take this opportunity of expressing a few comments about what this Organization should be. On the occasion of this anniversary, it may be highly useful to reflect upon the areas in which the United Nations has failed, during these twenty-five years, to achieve what was originally expected of it, to define the future direction which it should follow and, at the same time, to review the Charter of the United Nations for the purpose of ensuring a more effective functioning of the Organization. The purposes and principles of the United Nations as set out in the Charter remain quite appropriate as norms of action for Member States, despite the passage of these twenty-five years. Nevertheless, the world situation has evolved in a way that is different in many respects from what the Charter anticipated at its inception. Therefore, we must take full account of this reality when we search for the best way of realizing the ideals represented by the establishment of the United Nations. In the Charter, there are some provisions which call for review in the light of its history of the last twenty odd years, such as Articles concerning an "enemy State", or those concerning the Trusteeship Council which has almost accomplished its mission. On the other hand, certain practices and precedents have been established to meet the needs of reality. Moreover, significant resolutions have been adopted and important subsidiary organs have been established in the spirit of the Charter.

32. On behalf of the Japanese Government, I should like to take this opportunity of presenting a few suggestions based on the review of the activities of the United Nations over the past decade.

33. I should like, first, to refer to questions related to the Security Council and the General Assembly. I consider that the basic structure of the Security Council, in which the super-Powers occupy the central positions and assume major responsibilities for the maintenance of peace, is realistic. Nevertheless, we are far from satisfied with the performance of the Security Council in the past and we all know that there are many problems still to be solved in this regard.

34. Given the realities of the international situations since the establishment of the United Nations, various questions

should be examined in order to make the functioning of the General Assembly and the Security Council more effective. Among these might be enumerated such questions as whether the composition of the Security Council and its method of voting should remain the same as originally established, or whether the powers of the General Assembly should be enlarged and should be expressly provided for in the Charter.

35. I believe that, for the Security Council to be the most effective possible, it is desirable, in view of its importance, that it should be an organ composed of Member States which, as clearly provided in the Charter, are in a position to render the most effective contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security and also are truly representative of various regions of the world.

36. A comprehensive re-examination of the activities of the United Nations is necessary, not only in the political and peace-keeping field but also in the field of economic and social development. The funds allocated to the activities of the United Nations family of organizations in the latter sphere have been rapidly increasing in recent years. Japan is making a great effort to contribute substantially to these funds. We believe, at the same time, that a better co-ordination of the work of the United Nations and its related agencies is urgently required, including a serious study of the activities of the individual organizations in order to avoid any duplication of work, keeping in mind the need for rational use of financial resources. Such co-ordination is essential so that the United Nations and its related agencies are to cope effectively with the questions involved in promoting welfare in the economic and social fields.

37. I believe that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations next year would be a good occasion to re-examine the activities of this Organization, taking into account the possibility of amending the Charter, and of making further efforts towards the realization of everlasting peace. I therefore hope that the United Nations will reactivate its procedures for considering such matters at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, although, judging from past experience, I am fully aware of the complexities involved. Would it not be possible, however, to set a future date when formal proposals for a revision of the Charter might be considered, making full use of the time available before that date for the necessary preparatory work? Japan, for its part, would be prepared to give full consideration to submitting its own proposals at an appropriate time.

38. In the pursuit of our common ideals we have all subscribed to the spirit embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. Although we are confronted by the realities of international politics, we should not lose sight of our ideals for a moment. Cognizant of the severe realities which hinder the attainment of our ideals, we should not be rigid in our efforts to cope with these realities. Our attitude should always be one of exploring every possibility for advancement. It is only in these ways that it will be possible for us to clear away the obstacles from the road to everlasting peace.

39. Mr. TSISTOPOULOS (Greece) (*translated from French*): Madam President, I should like first of all, on

behalf of the delegation of Greece and personally, to offer you our warm congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your election is a well-deserved tribute to your personal qualities and a recognition of the positive and constructive role played by your country—with which Greece maintains traditionally friendly relations—in international affairs.

40. I should again on this occasion like to pay a tribute to the memory of the late President Arenales, an eminent statesman dedicated to the cause of peace and international co-operation, who to the end of his life continued to strive for the promotion and safeguarding of the principles of the United Nations.

41. The twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly is opening under the portent of the conquest of space. Through the staggering progress of American science and technology, two astronauts have accomplished a feat which will be for ever the hallmark of our age. Men of earth have set foot on the moon, and what seemed a symbol of the impossible has become a reality.

42. In this new age, the age of exploits which until recently belonged to the world of science fiction, man conquers outer space but is still a victim of his ancestral passions and prejudices.

43. Proof of this is given in the statement of the Secretary-General on the progress of our world affairs. In the introduction to his annual report [A/7601/Add.1] U Thant has brought us face to face with the crises and conflicts which together threaten the international community and blatantly the principles upon which our Organization is based.

44. The cannons roar ever more threateningly in the Middle East, the Viet-Nam war drags on, two great Powers confront each other on the Sino-Soviet frontier, the fratricidal war in Nigeria has not been brought to an end, disarmament negotiations are merely marking time, and the economic problems of the developing countries still await a just solution.

45. Should I add, to deplore it, the refusal of certain Members of the United Nations to abide by the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council?

46. It is, of course, far from the Greek delegation's intention to underestimate what our Organization has already been able to accomplish, or to try to paint too gloomy a picture. However, we believe that our faith in the future of the United Nations should not prevent us from striking a balance or drawing the necessary conclusions.

47. The Secretary-General, in his periodic reports and on many other occasions, has constantly drawn our attention to our duty to take all the necessary measures to contribute effectively to the economic progress of developing countries.

48. Technical progress, which offers immense possibilities for accelerating economic development, has so far done nothing but widen the gap that separates the prosperous from the less privileged nations. If we want to prevent the

division of our world into two opposite camps, between poor and rich countries or between north and south, then we must show a creative brotherhood and take courageous initiatives. Peace is incompatible with misery and ignorance, and cannot be secured while the masses of the population are overcome by disillusion and despair.

49. Our recent awareness of the need to draw up a new global strategy for economic development is an encouraging and promising omen for the success of the Second United Nations Development Decade. Furthermore, the consensus reached on the exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed proves that nations can now play a pioneering role in the search for new methods of developing the resources of our planet for the benefit of all mankind.

50. Thus, without being complacent, we can say that we are going forward on the right economic and social path, thanks particularly to the leads given by the United Nations.

51. Politically, the situation in the Middle East is a constant source of anxiety. Aware of its dangers, the Greek Government considers that the provisions of Security Council [resolution 242 (1967)] offer the ground for a just and equitable settlement of the conflict.

52. Two years have passed, however, since the unanimous adoption of that resolution: two years of tension, disillusion and bloodshed. The sufferings of the people of the region are increasing; the occupation continues and aggravates the struggle of the Palestinians *pro domo sua*; positions harden and peace seems more distant than ever.

53. When Mr. Jarring's mission was suspended, our attention and hopes turned to the four-Power consultations started last April. We welcomed that initiative. Far from interpreting it as an effort by the great Powers to solve that grave problem outside the United Nations, we considered it to be a collective effort by the four permanent members of the Security Council to devise practical means of implementing the resolution.

54. The apparent lack of results from those four-Power consultations and the recent escalation of increasingly grave incidents have created an explosive situation. We see with horror the rise of the fearsome spectre of a war which, while incapable of solving the problems it is supposed to settle, might directly affect international peace and security.

55. The Greek delegation wishes to endorse the appeal made by the Secretary-General to members of the Security Council—both individually and collectively—at the time of the tragic death of Major Plane

“... to do all within their power to influence events in a new and constructive direction”.¹

56. However, since in the final analysis the solution to the problem depends entirely on the countries involved in the conflict, it is obvious that only their moderation and realism can lead to a peaceful settlement. We feel, and I

¹ Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fourth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1969.

repeat this, that the firmest basis for an agreement that will finally bring the conflict to an end is to be found in the resolution adopted unanimously by the Security Council in November 1967. All the principles on which peace in that area must be based appear in that resolution.

57. When speaking of trouble spots we must inevitably think of the war in Viet-Nam, which though not on the agenda of the General Assembly remains an obsessive thought at the back of our minds. The continued suffering and loss of human life are bound to haunt the conscience of all peace-loving peoples.

58. During the last session of the General Assembly the Greek delegation shared the generally felt relief at the opening of conversations in Paris. After a year of apparently sterile negotiations the international community is deeply disquieted at their lack of progress.

59. The United States of America has adopted courageous measures to create a propitious atmosphere for the success of the talks, and has given assurances which should satisfy even those most sceptical about its future.

60. The bombing of North Viet-Nam has ceased and the American administration has carried out a de-escalation of operations and a first withdrawal of troops from Viet-Nam. We believe it would be untoward to expect similar measures from Hanoi. Merely to accuse or exhort the party that has undeniably already adopted specific measures for military disengagement cannot relieve Hanoi of its grave responsibility for prolonging the sufferings inflicted upon the Viet-Nameese people, or further the aim of bringing peace to the country.

61. In southern Africa, where traces and consequences of the colonial era linger on, the situation has in no way improved.

62. Since the creation of our Organization Greece has made every effort to support the United Nations in the abolition of the colonial system, the recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination and the elimination of racial discrimination. It is still ready to play its part in the search for realistic and reasonable solutions to ensure that the principles and ideals for which we stand will prevail.

63. A quarter of a century after the creation of the United Nations our Organization cannot yet establish machinery that will enable it effectively to fulfil its responsibilities as a guardian of peace. Yet, in the light of experience, the usefulness and value of its peace-keeping operations cannot be denied.

64. It is truly disappointing to note that, although we spend astronomical sums in strengthening and developing our machinery for war, we struggle endlessly to find ways of meeting the cost of the peace-keeping operations, for maintaining that peace which is the primary responsibility of the United Nations.

65. If we are to judge from the yearly increasing deficits, the system of voluntary contributions has proved ineffective. Thus we are bound to be concerned over the

bleak prospects we see ahead of us for the financing of present and future peace-keeping operations. The Greek delegation has supported all proposals to remedy this state of affairs.

66. In a spirit of devotion to the cause of peace and an acute awareness of its responsibilities, Greece played a leading role in the solution of the grave crisis in Cyprus in 1967. Since then it has contributed to everything that its duty required to the improvement of the situation in the island.

67. It must be admitted that the encouraging turn of events in the Republic of Cyprus is due primarily to the attitude of the Cypriot Government. The Cypriot leaders have, indeed, undertaken courageous measures—not yet reciprocated—towards a peaceful settlement, and have likewise shown flexibility and moderation in starting and continuing intercommunal talks. As for the substance of the problem, the Government of Cyprus has submitted most constructive and realistic proposals which pay due regard to the special interests of their Turkish Cypriot fellow citizens.

68. Since, in the present circumstances, pessimism would be a poor counsellor, we continue to hope that the Turkish side will realize that these proposals are genuine, and remember that a setback to the present talks would serve the interests of no one.

69. The road ahead is still long. Much perseverance, good sense and realism will be needed from both sides for a final solution that will benefit all the people of Cyprus.

70. Greece, which has so far contributed more than \$8 million to the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, is fully cognizant of the burden of maintaining that force. The Greek delegation, therefore, wishes to express its appreciation to those countries which in a spirit of international brotherhood, either by furnishing military contingents or through voluntary contributions, have enabled the peace-keeping operation in Cyprus to continue.

71. I should like also to avail myself of this opportunity to pay tribute to all those who have contributed to this improvement in the situation in Cyprus, and particularly to the Secretary-General, who has worked unceasingly to reach the goals set forth in the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964 [*resolution 186 (1964)*].

72. Now that the blue skies of the Eastern Mediterranean are darkened by so many threatening clouds, it is encouraging to note that, thanks in large measure to the efforts of the United Nations, at least one people in one corner of that region is turning to the work of peace and prosperity.

73. I should like to conclude my statement by reiterating Greece's attachment to the policy of friendly relations with all members of the international community regardless of their political and social systems, a policy based on respect for sovereignty, independence, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of others.

74. In the view of my Government peaceful coexistence, although an important step towards relief of tension,

cannot be considered an end in itself. A truce in the cold war does not bring the world all the blessings of peace. The small countries cannot feel free from danger or turn peacefully to the search for a better life as long as our world is liable at any moment to become once again a battleground where, on one pretext or another, the interests of the giants clash. That clash will not be prevented by amassing increasingly destructive weapons. It is therefore urgently necessary to hasten the search for ways of limiting the production of weapons of mass destruction.

75. We hope that the contacts established between the United States and the Soviet Union will bear fruit and so realize the hopes of all men of goodwill.

76. We also hope for speedy progress in the economic development of the developing nations; for a reduction of the enormous gap between the living levels of the industrialized and the developing countries would obviously be one stabilizing factor. If that gap were narrowed, we could hope for a new era of peace and security in the world.

77. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Madam President, may we first of all offer to you, a representative of an African country, our warmest congratulations on being elected to this high office? We wish you every success.

78. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing our sympathy to the Guatemalan delegation on the death of Dr. Arenales, President of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly.

79. Madam President, distinguished delegates: the General Assembly is meeting this year in regular session on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the defeat of the fascist aggressors who unleashed the Second World War.

80. A quarter of a century ago, many important battles still remained to be fought on the European and Far Eastern fronts. Warsaw and Oslo, Prague and Copenhagen, Belgrade and many other towns of Europe and Asia were still in the hands of the aggressors, and Paris and Brussels had only just been liberated. But the peoples knew that victory was already at hand, that the hour was striking for the triumph of freedom, the hour of reckoning for the Hitlerites and their minions for their monstrous crimes. The main outlines of the future world organization for collective security—the United Nations—had already been traced in inter-Allied talks.

81. No one aspired more fervently than the people of our country towards a speedy and victorious ending of the war and the establishment of a lasting and stable peace. However great the efforts made by others, no one experienced that large-scale and thorough mobilization of all its resources which was accomplished by our people for the sake of victory over the enemy. No one made such sacrifices as fell to the lot of the Soviet people to make in the war years.

82. We are not saying this in order to base on the facts of history some kind of claim to special rights. In recalling the great exploit of the Soviet people, we merely wish to

emphasize our country's dedication to the cause of peace, which we have achieved at an immeasurable cost.

83. The Soviet people have never forgotten, nor do they now forget, the important part played by the co-operation of States belonging to the anti-Hitlerite coalition in the achievement of victory. States with different social systems and interests united to crush the aggressors. These States jointly laid the foundations of the United Nations, an organization which was called upon to become an instrument of international co-operation aimed at preventing a new war. They invited other States to join in the practical work of creating the United Nations and to take part in its activities. And when in the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations they jointly expressed their determination

“to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind”,

the peoples interpreted these stern and solemn words as a militant programme of action in the cause of peace.

84. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has always done and continues to do its utmost to prevent war, to translate this programme into reality and, together with all States of similar inclination, to consolidate peace throughout the world.

85. Already in the war years, when we were concentrating our efforts on crushing the aggressors, we pondered what the basis of a lasting peace should be. With the last salvo of the war, when this supreme tragedy came to an end, programmes began to be prepared for the rehabilitation and peaceful reconstruction of our country; and at the same time steps were taken at the international level to build a stable peace.

86. Much has happened in the world since then. The general balance of world forces has undergone considerable changes and many new features have emerged in inter-State relations. But the Soviet Union's clear and consistent policy of strengthening peace in Europe and consolidating world peace remains unchanged. From the first peace treaties to the first outlines of the new relations between the States which were victors in the Second World War and those which were vanquished, to the well-known proposals on general and complete disarmament, the elimination of colonialism, and measures to reduce international tension, which have received such wide support in the United Nations and throughout the world, to the most recent proposals on the limitation of the arms race, including nuclear arms, and on the strengthening of international security—we have invariably followed this line. Never have we deviated from it, nor shall we do so in the future.

87. In international affairs the only realistic approach is that which takes into account the profound and vital interest of all peoples in peace. History has witnessed many political combinations, and attempts by individual countries or groups of countries to gamble on tensions and even conflicts or on a clash of State interests. It might be thought that in view of the experience of the Second World War and the objective conditions of the atomic and space age in which we live, every government aware of its

responsibilities must be anxious not to lose sight, in any combination of circumstances, of the fundamental needs of the peoples. Differences in social systems and ideologies and a divergent approach to outstanding problems must not block the way to the strengthening of peace, which today, indeed, is becoming a synonym for life and progress.

88. The United Nations has an important role to play in harnessing the peaceful aspirations of peoples and embodying them in concrete acts, in helping to pool the efforts of all States which stand up for peace. For this is surely the purpose for which this Organization was conceived. The Charter—that collective Treaty uniting Members of the United Nations—conferred suitable powers on the Organization. The Soviet Government is in favour of strengthening the United Nations and increasing its authority in international affairs. It is against any weakening of its structure, but rather in favour of ensuring the more efficient functioning of its political machinery.

89. The policy of peace is our fundamental policy. It was elaborated and bequeathed to us by that great man of our era Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State; the centenary of whose birth will soon be observed by all progressive mankind. This policy is not affected by the political situation. It cannot be shaken by any attacks, whatever their origin.

90. The policy of peace is born of the profoundly humane nature of the socialist system which has firmly established itself in our country and was the dream of many thinkers in the past. It stems from the very essence of the teaching by which the Soviet people are guided.

91. This is the position maintained today in international affairs by the entire community of socialist States, which form a closely knit alliance—an alliance for peace. We are united not only by a common outlook, but also by a common policy and common fate. If an impartial and objective poll were to be taken among the peoples, one in which the participants could freely express their opinions, the vast majority would undoubtedly name the socialist community of States as a powerful force for peace and a stabilizing factor in the international situation. The peoples are aware that this factor was responsible for the realization of their hopes of maintaining their independence, freedom and rights.

92. For us, the major positive role played in international affairs by the Soviet Union and other socialist States is not only a source of satisfaction but also an incentive to further efforts for peace. The socialist States see in this their responsibility towards all mankind.

93. Need anyone fear the strengthening of the socialist States? No; those who desire a lessening of international tension, a strengthening of security and removal of the threat of war need have no fears. This applies also to States with other social systems, if only they wish to live with us in peace and are generally in favour of peace.

94. If we compare the prospects of peace as they were painted before the end of the war, when the United Nations was being established, with the present situation of peace, two factors must be singled out which are equally fundamental in character but opposite in meaning.

95. On the one hand, over a period of more than two decades it has been possible to avert the outbreak of a new world war which, now that States possess nuclear arms and other means of mass destruction, would inevitably have the gravest consequences for mankind.

96. This is the great achievement of the peace-loving peoples and a signal success for the United Nations in the achievement of its lofty aims.

97. On the other hand, the peace still remains precarious and unstable. Now in one part of the world, now in another, independent States are attacked and their territories seized, and attempts made to impose foreign domination on peoples who in a hard struggle have brought about the collapse of the rotten colonial system and won the right to independent national development.

98. Human lives are being lost, the material values created by the labour of the peoples destroyed and huge material resources diverted to the arms race, which is imposed upon the world by Powers bent on violating the inter-Allied agreements aimed at preventing a new war. The world continues to live in a state of tension.

99. This means that the aims of the United Nations are still far from being achieved and that the Organization still has a very great deal to do in order to further the creation of conditions in which the peoples of the world may live in peace.

100. The co-operation of the Powers of the anti-Hitler coalition, which will for ever go down in history as a convincing and shining example of joint action against the aggressor by States with different social systems, was not properly continued and developed in the post-war period. Instead of setting up a world-wide collective security system based on the principles elaborated jointly with us, some Western Powers took the road of separate action, banding together in military blocs, whose *raison d'être* was to inflict all possible harm on the Soviet Union and its allies and friends, and attempt from a "position of strength" to stop or even thrust back communism.

101. The Soviet Union takes the view that the choice of a country's social system is a matter for the people of that country and no one else. Thus if our ideas recognize no obstacle, and if those who have tried to erect such obstacles, from the Russian czars to obscurantist Hitlerites, have suffered crushing defeat and our ideology is spreading more and more widely, this is not a sign of "Kremlin intrigues" but of the tremendous power of the communist outlook and the objective laws of social development. It is impossible to place any barriers on them, just as it was impossible to prevent the triumph of the teaching of Copernicus and Galileo and of Einstein's theory of relativity.

102. It is hardly necessary to dwell at length on all this. It is clear that such a *volte-face* in Western policies could result only in tension, or the cold war, as it was then called, with its attendant crises and conflicts.

103. This naturally compelled the socialist States to show due concern for their security. This we continue to do in

full measure—let no one harbour any illusions on that score. But this does not lessen by one jot our determination to uphold the cause of peace among the nations.

104. The Soviet Union has already expressed its attitude to the statement by the United States Government of its view that after the period of confrontation the era of negotiations is now beginning. We are in favour of negotiations, of a businesslike approach to affairs and of genuine efforts to settle the international problems facing the USSR, the United States and all other States. Naturally, in any negotiations the Soviet Union will base itself on respect for the interests and rights of our allies and for the legitimate rights and interests of other States, big and small.

105. The Soviet Union supports every proposal by any nation that serves the interests of international security and promotes peaceful co-operation between States. We are prepared to take our place at the negotiating table whenever this is likely to contribute to a peaceful settlement of controversial issues. But the victims of aggression, peoples upholding their freedom, have unfailingly met with active support from the Soviet Union, and continue to do so.

106. The Soviet Union is in favour of strict and complete observance of the Charter, and of implementation of the principles of the United Nations without any exception whatsoever. The unleashing of a new war must be prevented and a violator of the peace must invariably meet with a suitable rebuff. The solemn obligations assumed by States under the Charter of the United Nations must be discharged and the political actions of States in international relations must not be at variance with those obligations. This is precisely what our country has always stood up for and continues to stand up for. We believe that the Charter of the United Nations gives all its Members equal rights and imposes important obligations on each.

107. But do the actions of the United States in Viet-Nam correspond in any way to the principles of the United Nations, the ideals of freedom and justice for which the soldiers of the anti-Hitler coalition, including American soldiers, fought and died? No, not in the least.

108. The United States has already been fighting the Vietnamese people longer than anyone else in its entire history since it became an independent country, longer than it fought nazi Germany and militarist Japan. It has not attained its aims in Viet-Nam; nor can it do so, for its cause there is unjust. The solidarity and support of the freedom-loving peoples of every continent are on the side of the Vietnamese people. We are proud that the Soviet Union's assistance is increasing the resources of free Viet-Nam in its hard, heroic struggle.

109. At present, talks are now taking place in Paris on a political settlement of the Vietnamese problem. To think that the United States can achieve at the conference table what it has failed to achieve with an army of half a million on the battlefield, that is, the power to entrench itself strategically and politically on alien soil in South Viet-Nam and impose on the Vietnamese people the corrupt Saigon puppets as their rulers—would obviously be at variance with reality.

110. At these negotiations the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam are known to have put forward constructive terms for a settlement. The United States was given the opportunity of an honourable way out of this impasse of its own making. We should like to believe that sound sense and a realistic appraisal of the situation will prevail in United States policies and that the Paris talks will move towards agreement on the one and only possible basis, the only one which conforms to the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations: renunciation of military and all other interference in the affairs of the Vietnamese people. An end to the aggressive war and peace in Viet-Nam are necessary for the Vietnamese people and for the whole world. We are convinced that they are also necessary for the people of the United States.

111. It is impossible to qualify in any other way than as a direct challenge to the United Nations, and to all peoples, the obstruction by Israel of any measures for a political settlement in the Middle East. What are they waiting for, what are they counting on, those Israeli leaders who are bent on annexing the territories of the Arab States seized two years ago, constantly organizing new military provocation against those States, and acting contrary to the well-known Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 [resolution 242 (1967)], which has been recognized by all States except Israel as a realistic basis for a settlement?

112. The representatives of Israel often make statements, including statements at the United Nations, to the effect that they would like to see the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East and an end to the conflict with the Arab States. Why then does Israel refuse to do what is a major and obligatory condition for peace in the area, i.e. withdraw its troops from occupied Arab lands which have never belonged to Israel? References to the fact that Israel is seeking recognition for itself of the right to independent national existence are without foundation. The Security Council decision—as everyone is well aware—in addition to demanding the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from occupied territories, also provides precisely for the recognition and consolidation of this right for all States in the Middle East, including Israel. There is no vagueness or ambiguity here whatsoever.

113. Everything indicates that the wish of the leaders in Tel Aviv is to bring about in the Middle East not peace but further complications. Consequently a situation is developing which is pregnant with new explosions. The danger of such a development is clear to all. How events unfold will depend in no small measure on us all: whether Israel and certain sections in other countries that support it will take into account the interests of international security, or whether recklessness and not reason will gain the upper hand in the Middle East.

114. A political settlement in the Middle East that is fair to all the States in that area must be attained, in the interests of all countries and peoples. The Soviet Union, together with many other States, is strongly in favour of such a settlement. It has also pursued this line in connexion with the international efforts that have been made in recent months to give effect to the Security Council resolution, including the consultations between representatives of the

four Powers which are permanent members of the Council. We have submitted corresponding specific proposals for consideration by the participants in the exchange of views.

115. On the United States side the question has been mooted—by way of stabilizing the situation—of limiting the supply of arms to the Middle East. As the Soviet Government has already stated to the United States Government, a discussion of that question cannot serve any useful purpose so long as Israel troops are occupying the territories of Arab countries.

116. The attainment of a political settlement in the Middle East would indeed do much to further the cause of a lasting peace and would be in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

117. It is impossible to pass over in silence the fact that the United Nations flag is being used to provide a spurious cover of "legality" for the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops. The presence there of United States troops is a major obstacle to the fulfilment of the Korean people's wish for a peaceful unification of the country, a source of permanent tension which is periodically exacerbated by provocation against the independent Korean socialist State—the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

118. The interests of peace demand that a clear decision be taken on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea. The Soviet Union, together with a number of other States, is again raising this question before the General Assembly. Let us hope that in the end it will be solved in a positive manner.

119. The Charter of the United Nations establishes the principle of the self-determination of peoples, the principle of the equality of peoples, great and small. But we have not yet got rid of that barbarous relic from the blackest pages in the history of mankind, the wars of colonialists against peoples struggling for their sovereign rights.

120. Under the assault of national liberation movements the mighty colonial empires have disintegrated and dozens of new independent States have come into being in Africa and Asia, in the region of the Caribbean Sea and the Indian and Pacific Oceans. But in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Namibia the blood of patriots fighting for the freedom and independence of their peoples continues to flow. In the Republic of South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia power is wielded by racists who have taken as their programme the Hitlerite ravings about the superiority of whites over all other peoples.

121. Who will say that the United Nations has already discharged its duty in this connexion and translated into deeds its solemn promises to the peoples? To complete the elimination of colonialism, the United Nations likewise still faces heavy tasks.

122. Europe is sometimes singled out as a region which differs from uneasy South-East Asia and Africa and the Middle and Far East in its relative security. Indeed there are no guns firing in Europe, no aggressor and victim of aggression engaged in mortal combat. Here, where two world wars have ploughed up every square metre of land

deeper than in any other corner of our planet, it is assumed that the peoples and governments must have learnt the necessary lessons from the past. From all this it is even sometimes concluded that in Europe, if anywhere, the situation is now stable.

123. What is true in such reasoning is that the Europe of the end of the 1960s differs radically from the Europe of the end of the 1930s. The present correlation of forces on the European scene bears no comparison whatsoever with that of those times. The Soviet Union, the Warsaw Treaty States and other peace-loving forces which stand guard over the European peace possess all the means necessary to call to order, in a matter of hours, any aggressor in Europe. Nevertheless, there would be no ground for the expression of any feeling of tranquillity over the situation in Europe.

124. The European continent, unlike any other region of the world, is chock-full of the armaments, including nuclear arms, with which the States of the two opposing military groupings are equipped. This fact already implies a great danger to the European peoples, who live in a relatively small territory across which runs the line of direct contact between the armies of NATO and of the Warsaw Treaty States.

125. This danger is bound up with another, which has its roots in the revival of militarism and revanchism in the Federal Republic of Germany and the increasing activities of West German neo-Nazis. How far things have gone is evident even from the fact that in the Federal Republic of Germany, before the regular elections to the Bundestag, a veritable contest in revanchism and notorious "anti-Bolshevism" was waged between the neo-Nazis and some representatives of the Government camp.

126. Because of our responsibility to prevent any new German aggression, and in virtue of our duty to millions and millions of people who gave their lives so that freedom and democracy might triumph over the criminal, inhuman policies of Hitler's Reich, the Soviet Union is compelled again and again to draw the attention of other governments and States to these facts. It is in the common interest, and our common duty, to check the dangerous trends in the development of the Federal Republic of Germany and to crush and thrust back neo-nazism, which is again thirsting for power.

127. The stability of State boundaries in Europe, including the Oder-Neisse line and the border between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, is the *sine qua non* for a lasting peace in that part of the world. One can only express bewilderment and anxiety at the attitude of those States which, willingly or unwillingly, are abetting plans for revising the results of the Second World War and supporting, particularly in the United Nations, a policy of discrimination against the German Democratic Republic. This policy will ultimately rebound against their own interests. In any event it runs counter to the interests of European security and of all-European co-operation.

128. No State, whether it is an original Member of the United Nations or joined later, can ignore that any violation of the peace in Europe would entail grave consequences for

all mankind. The lessons of the Second World War must not give way to an illusory hope that perhaps this time things will be different. They may turn out differently in this sense, that if the wind is sown, the harvest will be a whirlwind more devastating than anything yet seen.

129. The Soviet Government has emphasized more than once that it does not oppose the Federal Republic of Germany as a State having its rightful place in Europe, and that the Federal Republic has just as good a chance as other countries of re-establishing peaceful all-European co-operation and developing normal relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is ready to improve its relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, and considers that they may take a turn for the better if that country adopts a policy of respect for the interests of European peace and of the Soviet Union and its friends, and if it recognizes the reality of the existing situation in Europe, including the immutable fact of the existence of the socialist German Democratic Republic. The existence of this German State is a reality which nobody can change. The Soviet Union is resolutely against those aspects of the policy of the Federal Republic of Germany which endanger peace. On these questions the Soviet Union and its allies, basing themselves on the Potsdam and other inter-Allied agreements, adopt and will continue to adopt an attitude dictated by the interests of their security and by the interests of European and universal security.

130. In the Federal Republic of Germany the inevitable conclusion will have to be drawn that its future lies not in gambling on tensions and divergencies of interests and attitudes, but exclusively in developing peaceful relations with other States, in establishing mutually advantageous economic ties with them, and in creating an atmosphere of good-neighbourliness.

131. As we see, the situation in Europe and the state of relations between European States require close attention. No responsible European government should approach European affairs lightly or forget that, as in the past, developments in Europe exert an enormous influence on the situation in the world as a whole. Anyone incapable of seeing this is a bad politician.

132. In summing up the main features of the situation in various parts of the world, from which a general picture of the state of international relations emerges, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that genuine and stable security is still absent from the world. The peoples have no confidence in the durability and inviolability of peace. Meanwhile, the maintenance of international peace and security is the main task and the primary responsibility of the United Nations.

133. Indisputably the United Nations also faces many other problems, for instance economic ones. These are also important, and here a good deal of useful work can be done, especially in promoting the normalization of international economic relations, freeing world trade from all discrimination, and helping the peoples of the developing countries to purge the system of providing economic aid of the manoeuvres of all kinds which are widely practised by some circles in order to ensure newly independent States in the toils of neo-colonialism.

134. But it should not be forgotten that even the aptest solution of economic problems—and we are in favour of

their solution—may be nullified at any moment and reduced to nought by political developments.

135. From time to time the United Nations does in fact take steps to promote stronger international security: that is, when there is the necessary measure of agreement among States. That must be said today from this rostrum. More often than not, however, United Nations actions correspond to specific situations in individual areas. Although it is absolutely necessary, and will continue to be necessary, to put out fires, this of itself cannot suffice. It is more important to take effective measures to safeguard the world in general from fires, and to remove in good time the centres of potential conflicts and complications.

136. International relations in the post-war period, particularly in the last decade, and the present state of world affairs demand that the United Nations should step up its efforts to discharge its primary responsibility—the maintenance of peace—and concentrate its resources and activities in this decisive direction.

137. The Soviet Government is therefore submitting to the General Assembly for consideration at its twenty-fourth session, as an important and urgent matter, an item entitled "The strengthening of international security" [A/7654]. We call upon all States Members of the United Nations, in approaching the discussion of this item and in arriving at the decision to be adopted on it, to bear in mind their high responsibility for the fate of the world.

138. How does the Soviet Union visualize the main tasks in the strengthening of international security? What steps and actions to reach these aims should the General Assembly, in our view, recommend?

139. An important condition for the relaxation of international tension and for strengthening the security of the peoples must be the withdrawal of troops from the territories occupied as the result of the actions of the armed forces of some States against other States and peoples defending the independence they have won as a result of the collapse of the colonial system, and their territorial integrity. The interests of peace also demand that the United Nations should try to secure the strict implementation of the relevant Security Council decisions on the withdrawal of occupying forces from foreign territories and not permit any evasion or disregard of those decisions. It is hard to imagine that anyone, except perhaps those who would undertake to defend openly the policy of aggression, could raise any objection to this.

140. Further, it seems to us equally beyond question that the strengthening of international security would be considerably promoted by the immediate cessation of all measures for the suppression of liberation movements of the peoples still under colonial rule and by the granting of independence to all those peoples. The liberation of the last remaining colonial territories would mean the completion of the fulfilment of the requirements of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted almost ten years ago.

141. Whereas what I have just said applies to the cessation of various actions threatening international peace, it would

be logical for the General Assembly to spell out at the same time very definitely how relations between States should be shaped so as to rule out such dangerous phenomena in the future. In this connexion we propose that the General Assembly shall call upon governments strictly to observe in their international relations the principles of the peaceful co-existence of States regardless of their social systems; the principles of sovereignty, equality of rights, the territorial inviolability of each State, non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for the right of all peoples freely to choose their social system. All disputes arising between States must be settled exclusively by peaceful means, without the use or threat of force.

142. Some will say perhaps that these or similar provisions are already incorporated in the Charter of the United Nations. That is quite true; but the point is that they are frequently disregarded. It is of essential importance that Members of the United Nations should confirm their adherence to these principles and their willingness to ensure their strict observance by all States.

143. International security on a world-wide scale is made up of the security of individual areas. In the opinion of the Soviet Government it is high time that States took practical steps to establish effective regional security systems in various parts of the world, based on the joint efforts of all the States in the affected areas, and acting in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

144. Satisfaction may be expressed at the marked growth of interest which has been discernible in Europe in recent months in the collective efforts of the countries of that region to ease tension and strengthen peace. Closer contacts are being established between Governments. These questions are under review in parliaments and are being widely discussed in public circles. All this is quite regular. The proposal to convene an all-European conference reflects not only the sincere desire of its sponsors, the Warsaw Treaty States, to make the political climate of Europe genuinely healthier and improve relations between European States, but also a general attitude of mind, an understanding that peoples must govern events and not be their prisoners.

145. The Soviet Union has an unbiased approach to the problems of international co-operation. We have accumulated positive experience in the development of relations with France and with a number of neighbouring States, as well as with the United Kingdom, Italy and neutral countries. All this is very important. It is not simple to establish co-operation on an all-European scale, but there is no doubt that every effort made in that direction, including the improvement of bilateral relations, will pay off with interest and give positive results.

146. The Soviet Government notes as a constructive step the move made by one of the European neutral States—Finland—with a view to the initiation of practical preparations for the holding of an all-European conference.

147. The idea of establishing an effective system of collective security in Asia has recently been making powerful headway. The actual course of events makes this idea very topical in Asia.

148. The old continent of Asia has repeatedly generated acute international conflicts. In fact in the twentieth

century that region has never known the meaning of peace; for hostilities, first in one place and then in another, have never ceased there for several decades.

149. Events in that part of the globe, which has the largest territory and population, have a very direct impact on the whole world situation. This is all the truer since numerous complications and difficulties have been introduced into Asian life from without and have their roots in foreign interference and colonialism.

150. Nevertheless Asia offers a good many instances in which joint efforts have ended armed conflicts and cleared the way to peace. This happened at the time of the work of the Geneva Conferences of 1954 and 1962, and the Tashkent Conference of 1966.

151. Many Asian countries are seeking ways of ensuring peace and security by collective efforts. This idea essentially permeates the decisions of the well-known Bandung Conference. The years that have passed since that Conference have only served to prove the need for a system of collective security in Asia that would help the peoples of Asian countries to solve their most vital problem, the problem of peace and security. All the States in that region, irrespective of differences in their social systems, must study and work for the creation of such a system, which would be in the interests of each.

152. The Soviet Union, an Asian as well as a European State, is ready to take part in consultations and exchanges of views on all questions connected with the proposal for creating a collective security system in Asia, so that a situation of lasting peace and good-neighbourliness may be established in that region.

153. The Soviet Government proposes that the General Assembly should pronounce in favour of creating regional security systems, and thereby enhance the effectiveness of the steps which are already being taken, or which may be taken.

154. The system of United Nations organs includes one on which the States Members have conferred primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and whose decisions they have all undertaken to accept and carry out. That organ is the Security Council.

155. The founders of the United Nations were careful to ensure that the Security Council—the only body authorized on behalf of all Members of the United Nations to use force, where circumstances demand in the interests of peace, in order to suppress acts of aggression—could not mechanically produce one-sided decisions serving the narrow interests of a particular State or group of States. This is achieved by the well-known rule whereby decisions on all matters other than procedural shall require the unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council—the rule that lends such decisions the highest authority we can conceive of in the present-day world.

156. It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of the Security Council's work. At the 1,500 meetings it has held to date some important decisions have been taken which have put an end to hostilities in various parts of the world,

prevented conflicts and promoted the peaceful settlement of crises in relations between various States. These functions the Security Council will undoubtedly continue to perform in the future; and we only hope that where necessary it will make full use of all the powers conferred upon it by the Charter of the United Nations in order to suppress acts of aggression.

157. At the same time the Soviet Government believes that considerable reserves exist for further enhancing the role and efficiency of the Security Council in strengthening international peace. These reserves are contained in the United Nations Charter, which while conferring upon the Security Council powers to settle disputes between States, to deal with critical situations and to suppress acts of aggression, also imposes on it the duty to take more general measures for the maintenance of international peace, including the consideration of problems of halting the armaments race and of disarmament. To this end the Charter of the United Nations, in particular its Article 28, gives the Security Council a flexible mode of functioning and in particular, makes the useful provision that the Council shall hold periodic meetings with the participation of members of governments or of specially designated representatives.

158. Why should these provisions of the Charter not be put into effect? The Soviet Government is convinced that it would be for the common good if the General Assembly made an appropriate recommendation to the Security Council for its consideration.

159. At present a host of United Nations commissions and committees are drafting rules regulating various aspects of relations between States. We consider it necessary to single out especially the work of drafting a definition of aggression and of procuring agreement on the principles of friendly relations and co-operation between States. There is hardly any need to demonstrate that these efforts are particularly closely bound up with the problem of strengthening international security. Consequently it would be natural for the General Assembly to suggest that the appropriate special committees, on the basis of the preliminary results they have already achieved, should expedite the completion of their work and prepare their recommendations.

160. This applies to yet another sector of United Nations activities: the study of ways and means of increasing the efficiency of United Nations peace-keeping operations. In this important field, which was for years the scene of sharp political clashes caused by the desire of certain circles to wreck the United Nations Charter in order to use that sharpest of international weapons, United Nations peace-keeping operations, in their own narrow interests, the first signs have recently appeared—but only the first—of a move towards agreement based on observance of the relevant provisions of the Charter. It would be a good thing if they were developed. Further progress here would strengthen international security, and might prove useful.

161. These are the questions on which, in the Soviet Government's view, the General Assembly can and should make a decisive pronouncement as a result of its consideration at this session of the problem of strengthening

international security. It stands to reason that this pronouncement must be addressed both to States Members of the United Nations and to those States which are not Members of the United Nations or for some reason do not take part in its activities.

162. With regard to what I have just said, the Soviet delegation submits for your consideration a draft Appeal by the United Nations General Assembly to all States of the world on the strengthening of international security. We call upon all delegations and their Governments to study this document carefully. We are ready to explain its individual provisions in greater detail during the session and to take part in consultations aimed at achieving agreement on the final text of the Appeal.

163. Allow me to express the conviction that consideration by the General Assembly of the question of strengthening international security will have a favourable effect on the general state of international relations and will help to ease international tension and strengthen peace.

164. The security of the peoples depends to a great extent on success in the fight to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament. True, efforts are still being made to set the one against the other, to start an argument about which should come first: whether disarmament should precede security or, conversely, whether security should precede disarmament. However, this is not a mediaeval scholastic controversy about which came first, the chicken or the egg, but an attempt to complicate by using diplomatic acrobatics the solution of both security and disarmament problems.

165. The immutable fact is that measures to limit the arms race, and disarmament measures, invariably strengthen international security, while the strengthening of security in its turn facilitates progress towards disarmament. Suffice it to refer to the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water² and of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies [*resolution 2222 (XXI)*], and to refer to the drafting of that important document the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*]. These are landmarks in the limitation of the arms race and at the same time in the building of a safer world.

166. From the point of view of the interests of peace it is important to ensure that the widest possible circle of States accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, especially those that possess the material and technical resources for creating nuclear weapons or may reach that level relatively soon.

167. So far, however, limitation of the arms race has only just begun. Further and more resolute measures are required, because the arms race has not been halted; on the contrary, its spiral threatens to shoot up ever higher. For some time now not only the distances between stars but also the size of the military expenditures of States have been measured in astronomical figures. More than \$200,000 million are consumed each year in the furnace of war

² Signed on 5 August 1963.

preparations. But imagine the figures that will have to be used in the forthcoming decade, and their impact on the life of the peoples, if the competition between ballistic and anti-ballistic missiles which is being urged by certain forces in the Western countries is unleashed.

168. Neither the Soviet Union nor the socialist States are responsible for the beginning of the nuclear arms race a quarter of a century ago. Nor are we responsible for its continuation. From our side proposals were consistently put forward for real measures to stop that race and for disarmament measures, going so far as general and complete disarmament. This is still our country's policy today.

169. The Soviet Government, as is well known, has already clarified its position on so-called strategic armaments, and that position remains valid. We attach great importance to action designed to check the strategic arms race; although according to our observations the number of opponents of such action has by no means decreased. Restraint of the strategic arms race would benefit not only those States which possess such arms but all the States of the world, since international security would be considerably strengthened.

170. Further urgent measures are termination of the production of nuclear weapons; the liquidation of all nuclear-weapon stockpiles and the use of nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes; prohibition of underground tests of nuclear weapons, the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, and prohibition of the use of the ocean floor for military purposes. It goes without saying that radical steps in nuclear disarmament will be possible only if they are carried out by all—I repeat all—the nuclear Powers and not just by some.

171. In present-day conditions, when work is progressing in a number of countries on the development and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, the threat is arising that sooner or later mankind may fall victim to a chemico-bacteriological war. This has been plainly stated, in particular, by the eminent international experts who prepared the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations entitled *Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and the Effects of their Possible Use*.³

172. Guided by a desire to outlaw chemical and biological methods of warfare, the Soviet Union together with the Polish People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, is submitting for consideration at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations an item entitled "Conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and on the destruction of such weapons" [A/7655], and is presenting a draft of an appropriate international convention. We trust that this draft, which has been circulated to all delegations, will be considered with all due attention. A General Assembly decision in support of the proposed convention would represent, in our view, an important contribution to the cause of peace and would accord with the interests of all mankind.

³ United Nations publication: Sales No.: E.69.I.24.

173. The contemporary world, which forms a community of States with different social systems and with different aspirations and political directions, presents a complex, diverse and in many respects contradictory picture.

174. We live on a planet which, although to its inhabitants it still appears boundless, is in reality shrinking, as it were, with the swift development of means of transport and communication.

175. We live in a world which is stepping over the threshold of a tremendous scientific and technological revolution, a world which within a fantastically short time has seen the transition from the first satellite and man's first space flight to the landing of men on the moon. And yet at the same time millions of children, even in some developed countries, have no opportunity to attend school, and millions of old and sick people cannot obtain medical assistance. We live in a world of unprecedented opportunities for transforming nature, creating material wealth and increasing man's creative abilities, but in one where at the same time the starved and the half-starved still outnumber the well-fed, and not nearly everyone has a roof over his head.

176. There is still a long way to go, there are still many obstacles and dangers to be overcome, before the peoples can say that peace has become stable on earth and there is no more threat of war. The pessimists refuse to believe that one day mankind will attain such conditions of existence. But we do not share such views. More than that, we consider that they serve only those who would like to disarm the peoples in their fight for peace, freedom and universal security in order that they may impose their will on them.

177. The Soviet Union and other socialist States firmly believe that a consistent policy of peace, a wide pooling of resources in the interests of preventing war and strengthening international security, and decisive joint action in this direction will produce substantial positive results. But this demands the clear expression by States of their goodwill to co-operate in the interests of peace; it requires readiness of all States for collective peaceful action.

178. The Soviet Union is ready as before to co-operate in this way; it will continue to make its contribution to the fulfilment of the lofty purposes of the United Nations. The Soviet Government calls upon the Governments of all States Members of the United Nations to make the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly an important step towards the attainment of these lofty purposes.

179. Mr. KARJALAINEN (Finland): Madam President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you, on behalf of my Government and myself, our sincerest congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. We welcome you as an eminent representative of the African Member States of this Organization. We do so in full awareness of the outstanding qualifications and the long experience in United Nations affairs which you bring to the important task you are called upon to fulfil. The fact that for the second time in the history of the United Nations the highest office of our Organization is entrusted to a lady adds a special note to the sentiments with which we greet your election.

180. We also wish to express our great appreciation of the important contribution of our Secretary-General to international co-operation.

181. In drawing up a balance-sheet of the development of international relations in the past twelve months, we cannot fail to take note with grave concern of the new dimension of international tension which has emerged in the Far East. It casts its shadow over the world scene as a whole. At the same time, all the crises and conflicts which we discussed here a year ago—manifestations of the use of force and violence in relations between nations—continue to frustrate our efforts to improve international relations.

182. Yet we can also note encouraging features in the developments of the past twelve months. In Viet-Nam, though the violence and destruction continue, the trend at least has been reversed. The bombing of North Viet-Nam has been stopped, the level of fighting in South Viet-Nam appears to have been somewhat reduced and talks between the principal parties to the conflict are in progress.

183. In the Middle East, while violent action has increased between Israel and its Arab neighbours, the joint effort of the four leading Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, to seek a peaceful solution of the conflict, strengthens our confidence in their willingness to co-operate, in accordance with their special responsibilities under the Charter, to prevent any danger to international peace and security. It is regrettable that no progress has been made towards establishing a lasting and just peace in the area. But this session of the General Assembly, attended as it is by prominent representatives of all the countries concerned, should offer an opportunity of making a fresh effort in that direction.

184. Our hopes for world peace are also strengthened by the willingness of the two leading nuclear Powers—the Soviet Union and the United States—to begin negotiations on the limitation of strategic armaments and thus to continue along the road of arms control in the spirit of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. It must be a universal hope that those talks should start without any further delay and that for their duration both Powers agree to refrain from any steps that might intensify the nuclear arms race. There can be no doubt that the outcome of those talks will largely determine not only the prospects of further progress in the field of disarmament and arms control, but also the future trend of international relations as a whole. At the same time, it should be emphasized that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons should speedily be brought into force as the cornerstone of any future system of nuclear arms control.

185. It is further encouraging that at long last serious negotiations on United Nations peace-keeping activities are now in progress. Experience has shown that the use of United Nations peace-keeping services has become an indispensable means of containing and controlling international crises and conflicts as an aid in the peaceful settlement of disputes. Agreement between the leading Powers on the principles and procedures to be followed in

such activities would considerably strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to fulfil its primary task, which is the maintenance of international peace and security.

186. Thus, while the rivalry between the great Powers continues in many areas, there appears in greater measure a willingness on their part to work together to discharge their joint responsibility for the preservation of peace. There need be no contradiction between those two tendencies. We cannot expect that all conflicts of interest or differences of ideology between nations can be made to disappear. But we can hope that all disputes will be resolved in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

187. There is no doubt that increasing understanding between the leading Powers tends to give rise to suspicion among many small nations, which history has taught to fear that agreement between the powerful may sometimes be reached at the expense of the weak. Yet, in the present age, co-operation between the leading Powers is a necessary prerequisite for the preservation of peace in the world, and thus in the vital interest of all nations. Naturally, such co-operation between the great Powers, as between all nations, must be based on respect for the principle of the sovereign equality of all States, which is a cornerstone of the United Nations. By strengthening this Organization we can most effectively strengthen the basis of international peace and security, as well as that of the independence of every nation.

188. In this connexion I should like to state once again that, in the view of the Finnish Government, the collective security system of the United Nations can be truly effective only when it is universal. Accordingly, we hold the view that the seat of China in the United Nations belongs to the People's Republic of China. We also believe that the other nations that remain outside the United Nations should be given the opportunity of participating in the work of the Organization in appropriate ways.

189. For a neutral country like Finland, which bases its security not on military alliances or the protection of one Power or group of Powers against others but on a foreign policy designed to keep it outside international conflicts, it is a natural interest that it should work for a peaceful and rational world order anchored in the universal collective security system of the United Nations Charter. We believe that we can do so best by adhering strictly to our policy of neutrality. This policy, while it enjoins us to refrain from taking sides in disputes between the great Powers, enables us to maintain friendly relations with all States across the dividing lines of ideology and military blocs. On this basis it is possible for us to make an active contribution to the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

190. It is equally natural that on a regional basis Finland is actively interested in developing a system of security embracing the whole of Europe. As is known, the Finnish Government has taken an initiative in this direction and announced its readiness to act as host of a European security conference. We believe that Finland may be qualified for such a role by virtue of its neutral position with regard to the central issues dividing Europe today, as well as by its friendly ties with all the Governments concerned.

191. Speaking on the situation in Europe, the President of Finland, Mr. Urho Kekkonen, said in his speech of 15 July of this year, during his state visit to Great Britain, that:

"... since the end of the Second World War we have experienced in Europe the longest period of peace in this century and years ago reached a stage in which no changes in Europe could any longer be made through war or violence but only through peaceful negotiations".

President Kekkonen continued:

"Threats to peace are no longer the classical threats inherent in ambitious and evil plans of one State or another, but the danger of war itself with its unbelievably destructive consequences. All in all, we have come to the point where the problems of Europe are easier to control than the great world problems which have appeared on the scene. Even so, we often look at the European situation from an outdated point of view, living in fear of dangers that perhaps no longer exist. A new way of thinking and a new approach are essential."

192. The Finnish Government will continue to work together with other Governments in order to promote constructive negotiations on the solution of the problems of European security. In this connexion I may mention that the Foreign Ministers of the five Nordic countries, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland, at their recent meeting in Reykjavik, declared their support for the initiative taken by the Finnish Government in the matter of a European security conference and their desire to continue to explore the possibilities of preparing for such a conference.

193. I have stressed the importance of co-operation between the leading Powers in our efforts to solve major political problems which confront the Organization. This is also true in regard to the problems of southern Africa. Another year has gone by without any improvement in the situation. Sanctions have not yet brought down the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. We should therefore do our utmost to make the sanctions more effective. With regard to Namibia we have not yet been able to agree on the means by which the United Nations could discharge its direct responsibility for the territory. The illegal occupation of Namibia continues, while in South Africa the policies of *apartheid* are intensified in complete disregard of fundamental human rights. Finally, in the Portuguese Territories the colonial Power continues in its persistent refusal to recognize the legitimate right of the population to freedom and independence.

194. It is understandable that in these circumstances many of us, and in particular many Africans, are beginning to

despair of finding a solution to the problems of southern Africa through peaceful means offered by the United Nations. In the face of this increased danger of racial conflict it is necessary to intensify our search for constructive and effective action to reverse the trend in southern Africa. For this, co-operation between the leading Powers is essential.

195. The appalling human sacrifice which the continued fighting in Nigeria is causing the civilian population is causing great distress in Finland as in many other countries. The Governments of the Nordic countries have addressed to the leaders of the parties to the conflict numerous and urgent appeals which have been motivated by the desire to make the relief work more effective. The Nordic countries offer their support for any measure which may contribute to a solution of the conflict. We have followed with interest the efforts of the Organization of African Unity to solve the Nigerian conflict and we believe that this Organization is specially qualified to help to find a basis for a negotiated solution.

196. Madam President, as we approach the beginning of the Second United Nations Development Decade we have reason for critical self-examination. The experience of the past ten years shows that it is no longer enough to state broad objectives and design over-all policies. In the preparations for the Second Development Decade it is necessary to agree upon plans of greater detail and precision so as to enable us better to marshal our resources and review the progress made.

197. At the same time it must be emphasized that while a revitalization of aid policies is of great importance it is only one instrument at the disposal of the world community. Lack of true progress in international trade policies to the benefit of the developing nations is a matter of great concern. A fresh effort is called for to give the developing countries a greater share in world trade.

198. The Finnish Government has recently undertaken a thorough assessment of Finland's contribution to the Second Development Decade and as a result proposed to Parliament a programme designed to achieve, in stages, the aid target of 1 per cent of the gross national product. Accordingly, in 1970, Finland's contribution to economic development aid will increase by one third and will grow steadily year by year.

199. The PRESIDENT: I should like to take this opportunity of extending my very deep appreciation to those who have addressed the Assembly this morning for the compliments they have paid the President.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.